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A
LETTER
TO THE
AUTHOR
OF THE
DEFENCE, &c.

DEFENDER

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TO THE

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OF THE

DEFENCE &c

A
LETTER
TO THE
AUTHOR
OF THE
DEFENCE
C., P. K. OF THE
Bishop of *Chichester's*
SERMON
UPON

King CHARLES'S Martyrdom.

*Sed quanto ille magis formas se vertit in omnes
Tanto, nate, magis contende tenacia vincula.*

The SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. PAYNE, at the *Crown* in
Pater-Noster-Row. M DCC XXXII.

A
LETTER

TO THE

AUTHOR

OF THE

DEFEENCE

OF THE

Chichester's



SEE MON

UPON

King Charles's Martyrdom.

And shewing the manner how he was killed in 1649.
Also, notes, and a short history of the same.

THE SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. Payne, at the Green in
Peter-Norwich. MDCCLXII.



A
LETTER, &c.

S I R,



W H E N I publish'd my Remarks upon the Sermon which you have undertaken to defend, I had no Point whatsoever in my View, no other Motive for what I did, than a serious Concern for my own Liberty and that of my Country, join'd to a warm Indignation against those, who either directly or *indirectly*, by open Principles of Slavery, or by *artful* and *disguis'd* ones, make any Attempts against it. But as it has never been my Study, so there is nothing I am naturally more unfit for than a Contention about the literal Sense of Words, or a Wrangle upon

upon the Order and Construction of any particular Passage, not being skill'd in the little evasive Tricks of *Dealers in Controversy*, nor able to shuffle away the Meaning of what appears obvious and plain to every Body's Understanding: Such Arts I leave to those who *need them*, and who value themselves upon the low Pride of having *us'd them* (as they think) *with some Success*: But in the present Dispute between you and me, I appeal to the Sense of every honest and impartial Man, to such even of the Clergy as will dare to own their Sentiments upon it, whether they did not at first, and do not still consider the Passages I censur'd in the Bishop's Sermon, in almost the same Light as I have done, notwithstanding the Charge you bring against me of "*gross Misrepresentation*". In my Letter to his Lordship, I took notice of the skilful Manner in which he endeavours to disguise the Doctrines which he foresaw might give Offence; and it was not to be expected that a Man of his Abilities should be weak enough, not to save
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some Appearances, or that one so well acquainted with the Temper of the Age in which he lives, shou'd think that many *Cautions* were not necessary, to make it *safe* for him to advance such Notions, as he has in that Discourse: And I will be bold to say that had he spoke a *little plainer*, he wou'd not have been *answered* by a *private Person*, but by *the whole Legislature*. And do you now Sir, come and tell us of two or three Passages thrown in here and there * at proper Places, which speak well of Liberty and our Constitution, as if they were unanswerable Arguments of the Innocency and good Design of all the rest? Are you childish Enough to hope we shall accept of these, as a sufficient Satisfaction for the many slavish and pernicious Tenets the whole Sermon is so full of, which if they had been left to stand *alone*, wou'd have turned the Danger from the *Nation* to the *Author*? No, Sir, Poison is not the less malignant for being mixt up with wholesome Food; but on the contrary,

* V. the Defence, p. 12.

that

that is always the most *destrous* and *surest* Method of conveying it.

As you have mentioned * the late Writings of some Authors on the Side of Infidelity, give me leave to ask you one Question, whether you and all Friends to Christianity, have not been grievously offended at a Method much in use among those Gentlemen; that after they have been arguing with all their Strength against Religion, they think to get off by a few Sentences, in which they declare themselves good Christians, and compliment you with a senseless Profession of what they have done their utmost to destroy? Is not there a shameful Want of Candour in their Proceeding? And wou'd not you laugh at any body that shou'd bring those *Colourings* as Proofs of their Sincerity in the Faith? This, Sir, is very much the Case between you and me. I am unwilling to say more to you upon that Head, but shall just examine some of the most material Facts, in which you accuse me of misrepresenting the

* V. the Defence, p. 23.

Bishop's Meaning, though for the most part, in your manner of explaining it, it appears to me very little different as to the Merits of the Cause, from what it did before. You tell us, * that had his Lordship been aware of my first Objection, "*he wou'd have thrown in a few Words to have prevented it:*" That indeed I don't think at all improbable, for such *Salvo's* he is not a little fond of; but as the Sermon now stands, I do think the Parallel between the Doctrine he lays down, and the Bill which was so warmly † promoted by the Bishops in *Charles II's* Time, is very just and fair. However, if he is ashamed of owning it, I accept his Recantation with great Thankfulness; and declare to all whom it may concern, that a Right Reverend Person of the present Age, disclaims the Politicks of the whole Bench of Right Reverends in those Days.

But the Fallacy of your Argument consists in denying that the Absurdities

* V. the Defence, P. 7.

† V. the Letter, P. 9.

I have charged upon the Bishop's Doctrine are expressly said by him: I grant it you; but they are naturally deducible from what he has said, and that is all that it was my Business to make out. Thus it is no where express'd in the Bill I spoke of in my Letter, that it shou'd be unlawful to attempt any *Reformation* either in Church or State, but that, and many other such vile Positions are really contain'd in it, and may be fairly argued from it: Nothing was pretended * *there* but a good Design to secure the Nation against "*Fickle, Factionous and Unquiet Spirits*, nor is any Thing else pretended *here*; but they are but aukward Statesmen (and such you tell us Churchmen never are) who cannot give a specious Outside to the greatest Mischiefs. Let us now see what you have to say in Vindication of the monstrous Doctrine of † "*Acquiescence under any Form of Government*, which I complained of in the Sermon. Why, you tell us it is at the End of

* See the Title of the Bill as quoted in the Letter, P. 10.

† V. the Sermon, P. 9.

a Paragraph concerning the various Forms of Government, * with a good deal more such Reasoning about it, that proves nothing at all: But the Words themselves are as express as Words can be; nay more, the Sense of them is as strongly asserted in the Defence as it was in the Sermon: You only inform us by way of Explanation that they suppose a "*received, settled, and establish'd Form.*" Now, why Oppression ought to be supported because it is received, settled, and establish'd, I don't conceive: If they who have the Misfortune to live under it, want Power and Strength to throw it off, they must be patient till a better Opportunity; but when that comes, they have undoubtedly a Right to free themselves, and it is their Duty as Members of the Society, to hazard Life and Fortune in the Attempt. You ask me if there are no wise and good Men in the Kingdom of *France*, and if they don't acquiesce under the Tyranny of their

* V. the Defence, Pages 8, 9, and 10.

present Government? Yes, they do for a terrible Reason, because they can't help themselves, and not as you suppose, out of "Conscience, or an *Uncertainty which Form is best*; but if they were able to contend for Freedom, they would not want either "*Law or Gospel for it*, since the Law of Nature, which is superior to all others, will justify them in so doing, and Christianity leaves all Men as it found them, in respect to their Civil Rights. But it has always been the Practice of *Papish Priests* (God forbid it shou'd be so of *Protestants* too) to persuade the People under their Direction, that resisting an "*establish'd Tyranny*, is resisting the Ordinances of God; by which they bring great Dishonour upon the Gospel; and 'tis for this that Men of Sense in most Countries are terribly afraid of the Clergy, and keep them at as great a distance from the Government as possibly they can. You are very smart upon me, when you tell me *that if I liv'd in France, "I should be as quiet a Frenchman as the best of them,* though

though I *bluster* so much *here*, where I know beforehand that I may do it with *Security*." Why indeed Sir, I think myself very happy, considering the Timorousness of my Nature, that I live in a Country where I can *bluster safely*, and I am glad to bluster while I may, for if your Project of restraining the Press shou'd be put in Execution, it may be as dangerous for me to do it here, as it wou'd be under the very Walls of the *Bastille*. It is possible when that Time comes, that I may be one of "your wise Men, who sit still, and "*meddle not with those who are given to change* ; but in the mean while I will make use of my native Freedom, and endeavour to prolong the Date of it to the utmost of my Power. I can't help observing to you before I quit this Argument, that one great Reason why many Countries which might otherwise shake off the Yoke, remain still in Slavery, is, that there are certain *wise Men* among them, whose Wisdom consists in enjoying quietly a great Revenue, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil,

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and not troubling their Heads with the Interests of other Mortals, who are neither *dignified nor distinguished*. Such as these will never *desire a Change*, let the Government be what it will, but conform strictly to the Precepts of *Acquiescence* delivered in the Sermon before us. — You put a Question to me,* whether if I had liv'd in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*, I wou'd have attempted to reduce the Prerogatives then enjoyed by the Crown, to the Bounds they are in at present. Allow me to ask you another Question, whether you wou'd be for bringing them back now to what they were in that Reign? What say you Sir, are you for erecting the Star-Chamber, and High Commission-Court anew? I don't believe they wou'd be made a worse Use of by his present Majesty than they were by that excellent Queen; but as other Princes have turn'd them into Engines of Tyrannick Power, I am heartily glad we have got rid of them to prevent the same Abuses for the future.

* V. the Defence, P. II.

A little after this, you tell me * upon some Quotations you have made from the Sermon, that if “ *the Bishop’s Words* “ *can agree with Despotick Power, then Des-* “ *potick Power and not Despotick Power are* “ *the same thing.* No Sir, all that you can prove from this, is, that the Bishop’s Words disagree, and contradict each other; which is not any Matter of great Wonder to those who are conversant with his Writings.

I am still of the same Opinion I held before †, that his Lordship has not sufficiently distinguished, between the Men who begun the Resistance against King *Charles* the First, and those who overturn’d the Constitution: All are branded with a Spirit of Rebellion; all accus’d of Faction and Disloyalty, and no other difference made than that of greater or lesser Guilt; though if Publick Spirit be a Virtue, the Conduct of the *first* was as virtuous, as that of the *last* was wicked.

For the Character of King *Charles’s* Judges, I refer you to two Speeches ||

* V. the Defence, P. 12.

† V. the Letter, P. 17. and the Defence, P. 14.

|| V. *Rushworth’s* Collections.

of Lord *Falkland*, who cannot be suspected of Malice or Partiality against them; though methinks the very Name of Lord-Keeper *Finch* would be sufficient to answer you.

The Passage you say I represented falsely*, as carrying with it an Insinuation that the Body of the People are not proper Judges whether they are oppress'd or not; in the manner it is there applied, must, if it means any Thing, mean what I say it does; for King *Charles* was far from having the whole Nobility and Gentry on his side; he cou'd pretend to little more than a Majority, especially at the beginning of the Troubles: The Purport of the Bishop's Argument must therefore be, that the People ought always to be satisfied when a Majority of the Nobility and Gentry, is willing to be so; and this I do still think is inconsistent with Rational Principles of Government. 'Tis Idle to tell us that the People may be "*Poison'd and Inflam'd by Demagogues and*

* V. the Sermon, P. the 14th, and the Defence, p. the 17th.

pretended Patriots. A Nation is not to be *talked* or *scribbled* into a Civil War: Oppression must be *felt*, and deeply too, before Men will give up the Advantages of Security and Peace, to a hazardous Desire of Change: And I believe you will find it difficult to produce one Instance in History of this Nation's having taking up Arms in Defence of their Liberties, when they were not really in great Danger: I speak not of Tumults and Popular Riots, which sometimes happen without any Cause at all, but of general and national Insurrections. The wicked and unreasonable Rebellion in the late King's Reign was not founded upon any pretence of Grievances, but meerly upon wrong Notions of Government, and they who engaged in it did not act with any View of maintaining Freedom, but to establish Arbitrary Power. God be thank'd, the Principles of those Men are quite exploded amongst us, and if there are Libels of another Nature, which have a Tendency to raise Dissatisfactions in the Minds of the

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People, his Lordship well knows that they may be *answered* with as much *Bitterness* and *Virulency* as they are Writ.

I am much obliged to you, Sir, for one Concession that you make me in the Course of this Argument, which I hardly expected from you, *viz.* * That by the Church the Laity is to be understood as well as the Clergy: But though I agree with you that the *Members of the establish'd Church*, "as making the Majority of the Nation, are the chief Support of the Crown, yet I deny that they are *so as being Members of the establish'd Church*. In this consists the Fallacy: For if the *Dissenters* were more in Number than the *Church of England Men*, I see no reason from the Opinions they profess, why *they* shou'd not be suppos'd to support the Crown, in proportion to their Strength, better than the *others*, who wou'd then be the *Minority*. I am sure if we may judge from our Experience ever since the Revolution, the Probability is greater on *their* Side than

* V. the Defence, P. 29. and Sermon, P. 15.

it is on *ours*. As to *Republicans* and *Infidels*, I don't know who they are whom you compliment with those *Denominations**, but I can well conceive that a *Republican* may be a very good *Christian*, and sure it is not impossible that an *Unbeliever* may be a dutiful *Subject* to the *Government*.

I must beg your *Pardon*, if not, withstanding your *Apology* †, I still see great *Wickedness* in the *Assertion*, “*that the same Spirit which cut off King Charles's Head is still alive, and very active among us,*” which is expressly affirm'd in the *Sermon*, and “*great Fears declar'd that the evil Seeds shou'd grow up again to the same prodigious Wickedness, and effect again the same Mischiefs*”, which would be ridiculous, if you don't suppose them *general*, tho', like a true verbal *Critick*, you make it a *Matter of great Importance* that the *Word* itself is not mention'd : If *those Seeds* are only scatter'd in a few weak and empty *Heads*, if they are so inconsiderable as you are now forc'd to re-

* V. the *Defence*, p. 20.

† V. the *Sermon*, p. 16, 17, and 18.

present them, how came his Lordship to be so terrified with all these direful Apprehensions of the unnatural Revolution they might produce *?

You go on with telling us † strange Stories of People you have met with in Coffee-Houses and other publick Places, who talk very indecently and very fillily of the Thirtieth of January. Why don't you tell us too of *Calves-Head Clubs*, and more such dreadful Relations very proper to frighten old Women, and make them fancy that Forty-one is coming again? I never read any thing so ridiculous as the Pamphlet you have quoted to the same Purpose, and dare answer for it, that the *Republican Spirit* in all such Works as these will never do the Nation any Harm; wherefore I beg you not to be so violently alarm'd and concern'd about them, but let the Authors of them eat their Dinner, which is all they propose in Writing.

* V. the Defence, p. 21.

† V. the Defence, p. 22.

You seem to doubt * very much of my Sincerity in the Detestation I express of the Libels against the Government: But, Sir, they who know me and my real Sentiments, know that I have no need to dissemble them, and that I dare avow them honestly, without either *Shuffling* or *Equivocation*. However, as you have brought it into Question, I repeat it again, that I have always thought there is great Indecency and Malice in those Writings, and that I wish all Patrons of them would consider of the Mischief they may do.

Your Objection that I have not taken any notice of the other Pamphlets that are publish'd in great Number against Religion and the Clergy, is really a very pleasant one. Why pray, Sir, what was it to my Purpose? Little did I imagine that I shou'd ever hear the Clergy call out upon the Laity for Assistance in those Disputes. Let them enjoy their large Possessions, let them even multiply them every Day; but let them labour a little for

* V. the Letter, p. 25. and the Defence, p. 23.

all this, and not blame us for not encroaching upon their Province, and taking up the Cudgels in their Defence, when we are engag'd in Arguments of quite another Nature. And I must tell you, Sir, * that one very weighty Reason why I am against Clergymen being *Ministers of State* is, that they may have Leisure to carry on such Controversies which are their proper Business, and not be taken off and distracted with worldly Matters, that ill become their spiritual Vocation. And since you seem to have taken fire upon this Occasion, I will consider a little what you have said, the rather because I verily believe you speak *sincerely* in this Point, however I may suspect you in others.

In order to convince me of Divines being perfectly qualified for the Management of State Affairs, you bid me consult History for their Conduct in Civil Employments. There is no need of looking very far back, as we have a late Instance of a Bishop Plenipotentiary at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, whose Conduct

* V. the Defence, p. 30.

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I am apt to believe you won't be very proud of. But if I was to go higher, what Advantage wou'd it be to you to hear of *Laud*, *Wolsey*, the Cardinal of *Winchester*, and other Divines of equal Fame, who presided in Star-Chambers, and directed our publick Councils, to the infinite Prejudice and Scandal of this Nation?

As for the Practice of other Governments which you honour with the Name of * *Great*, I hope we "*Inhabitants of this little Northern Spot*, that you treat with so much Contempt, shall have the *good Sense* not to follow their Examples, because the two greatest of them all, *viz. Spain and France*, lost their Liberties under the Ministry of three Priests, *Ximenes, Richelieu, and Mazarin*. I name these preferably to any others, because I know they are usually much boasted of by the Advocates for the Greatness of the Clergy; and able Men no doubt they were, but the Fruit of their Abilities was the Establishment of an absolute

* V. the Defence, p. 30.

Monarchy, and the Effects of their *Piety* were the Ruin of the Protestants in *France*, and the setting up the Inquisition in *Spain*. We therefore think ourselves much oblig'd to our *English* Clergy for their Resolution of contenting themselves with the Exercise of "*their proper Functions*"; and as long as they do so, we will "*defend them in all their just and legal Rights*."

I am now, Sir, to consider what you have said * upon the Subject of restraining the Press; and I must own to you, that in this Place, above all others, I expected you would *explain away* the Bishop's Meaning, and use every *Artifice of Evasion* rather than join issue with me upon a Question of this Nature, which as long as the Press is unrestrain'd, will never gain any Advantage over those who argue on the Side of Liberty; but to my great Surprise I find you openly avowing it, and endeavouring by all the Rhetorick you are Master of, to support and maintain that Proposition, which is artfully, and with Caution recommended in the Ser-

* V. the Defence, p. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.

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mon itself. You have taken care to assure us once or twice †, that you “*know the Bishop’s Sentiments*, and therefore I must suppose you have his Authority for what you advance; or otherwise I should have some Difficulty to believe that a Man whom you always speak of in your Vindication as a zealous Whig, could be capable of arguing in such a Manner. Are these Whiggish Principles, or are all Bishops such Whigs as these? No, Sir; I must be so just to the Reverend Bench, to say that there is *one* amongst others the Friend of human Nature, the Advocate for the Interests of Mankind, who disclaims such servile Notions, and has writ so handsomely for this very Question of the *Liberty of the Press*, as to make it almost impertinent for me to speak upon it: But indeed it has been the Fate of *this worthy Person* to be *constantly oppos’d in his Sentiments* by the *Author* of the Sermon before us.

If there be any thing new in what you urge for laying a Restraint upon

† V. the Defence, p. 6.

the “ Press,* it is, that by the frequent Sessions of Parliament ever since the Revolution, whatever is of Consequence to the Nation may be settled in those Assemblies, and therefore a Liberty of appealing to the Publick in Print is become unnecessary. As perfectly acquainted as you say you are with the Bishop’s Notions, I can hardly think but that if you had consulted *him*, he would have remember’d that he had formerly seen a Pamphlet call’d the *Barrier Treaty vindicated*, which very justly appealed to the Publick for the Merits of a Negotiation lying under the *instant Censure of Parliament*. Did he then think that “ *those Assemblies were such Checks* “ *upon wrong Measures and false Steps,* “ *as that the Liberties of the People were* “ *in full Security, and no Man wanted the* “ *Liberty of the Press to shew himself a* “ *Patriot?*

But, say you †, “ *notwithstanding any* “ *Restraint, there will be always Men* “ *bold enough to write, when there is a* “ *real Occasion for it, let it be ever so*

* V. the Defence, p. 26.

† V. *ibid*, p. 25.

“*dangerous;*” and therefore, to put their Courage to the Proof, you are for bringing the *Danger* upon them. Truly, Sir, they are extreamly obliged to you, and there is a great deal of Reason in what you propose. An honest Man will rather venture Hanging than neglect his Duty to his Country, *therefore* make it a Hanging-Matter for him to perform that Duty.

If this be the Way that the Clergy encourage Virtue, I am afraid the World will not be much the better by their Endeavours. This is setting before us a *Crown of Martyrdom*, with regard to our Civil Principles as well as our Religious; and I ask his Lordship, if he liv'd in a Popish Country, where, upon publishing any Protestant Opinions, his Book and his Reverend Person wou'd both be burnt, whether he would chuse such a Trial of his Strength, and such a Reward of his Resolution? But as I recollect that he has declar'd himself “*one of those that are not given to change,* but rather quietly to take Things as they find them, I suppose that neither *he* nor *his Book* would be *there* in any Danger.

I shall

I shall finish this Argument with repeating what I said in my Letter, that I am firmly persuaded the present Ministry will never be so transported with Resentment, or so forgetful of what they owe to their own Characters, as to attempt to deprive this Nation of a *Darling Privilege* which it is their Glory to have contended for all their Lives. Not all the Art and Malice of their Enemies in the daily Libels wrote against them, will ever be able to do them half the Hurt as would *this one Design*, if it was pursu'd; which I dare be confident it never will. —

You tell me with an affected Air of Triumph, that * “ *the Bishop has the Satisfaction to find that his Sermon has not been generally ill received.* Who they are that approve of it I don't know, but I believe I want no Testimony of *some* being displeased with it, whose Approbation he was most desirous to obtain: And I am much at a loss how to account for any Members of Society being pleas'd with such a Work, unless I shou'd sup-

* V. the Defence, p. 32.

pose that they have an Interest *distinct* from the rest of Mankind, and are glad to see *that* Promoted at any Price. — And now Sir, that I have said the little I had to offer, I take my leave of you, and of the Bishop: Though I never intended to have writ a second Letter, yet your Defence appeared to me so Extraordinary, that I cou'd not resist the Temptation of Appealing to the World once more which of us is in the right. I am convinced that my Cause is an honest one, and shou'd it be found that I have not done Justice to it, the Bishop may depend upon it that abler Hands will not be wanting, which will be sure to *Entertain* his Lordship to his full Content, and give him *ample Satisfaction*.

To conclude: Though you may think from my Presumption in this Dispute, that I have not all the Respect I ought to have for great Authorities, yet I will venture in return to your * Quotation from Bishop *Fleetwood*, to recommend to your Perusal a late Sermon preach'd before the *House of Commons*, on the same Day as his Lordship's was, in which you

* V. the Defence, p. 32.

will

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will find “ *the Duty, Honour, and Obedience, due from Subjects to their Prince* as strongly enforced as they ever ought to be, and the “ *Liberties of the People* asserted within their proper and legal Bounds.

I am Sir,

Your most Obedient,

P. C.



P O S T

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Author of the *Defence* having obliged the World with some Extracts from other Writers at the end of his Book, I am willing to furnish him with one more *very much to his Purpose* from the second Volume of *Burnet's History of the Reformation*, being Part of a Paper offered to Queen *Elizabeth*, concerning the inferior Clergy's being brought into the *House of Commons*, and afterwards presented to King *James*, corrected by Bishop *Ravis*: The Peice is intituled "Reasons to induce her Majesty that *Deans, Arch-Deacons*, and "some other of her *Grave and Wise* "Clergy, may be admitted into the lower "House of Parliament"; and towards the Conclusion are these remarkable Paragraphs:

"If hereafter God in Justice should
 "plague us for our Sins, by taking a-
 "way the *Joy of our Hearts*, yet how
 "greatly wou'd it tend to his Glory,
 "the good of this Land, and the Ho-
 "nour of her blessed Memory, if it
 "shall

“ shall please her Majesty to leave a
 “ Portion of the Clergy interested in
 “ that House, where they may stand
 “ for the Godly Government establish’d
 “ in her Days against all Innovation of
 “ Popery or Puritanism?

“ In the mean time (which God in
 “ Mercy grant may be for many Gene-
 “ rations) her Majesty shall be sure of a
 “ Number more in that Assembly, that
 “ ever will be most ready to maintain
 “ her Prerogative, and to enact whatso-
 “ ever may make most for her High-
 “ ness’s Safety and Contentment, as the
 “ Men that next under God’s Good-
 “ ness do most depend upon her Princely
 “ Clemency and Protection”.

F I N I S.

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